

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MILAN 01730 01 OF 02 231442Z

45

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-10 OMB-01 EB-07 SAJ-01 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-05 /083 W

----- 080949

R 231200Z SEP 75

FM AMCONSUL MILAN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4248

AMEMBASSY ROME

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MILAN 1730

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, PINR, IT

SUBJECT: JUNE 15 ELECTION DAY PLUS 100

1. SUMMARY: SHOCK WAVES OF THE COMMUNIST SUCCESS IN JUNE 15 ELECTIONS STILL SHAKING DOWN POST WAR POLITICAL WORLD OF MILAN, VENICE, BOLZANO TRIANGLE. EXTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS IN THESE THREE MAJOR POLITICAL CENTERS SINCE END OF SUMMER VACATIONS CONFIRM THAT THE ELECTIONS ENDED AN ERA OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL HEGEMONY HERE THAT BEGAN WITH THE 1948 NATIONAL ELECTIONS. IT IS BY NO MEANS CLEAR WHAT THE NEW ERA WILL LOOK LIKE NOR HAVE THE NON-COMMUNIST FORCES LOST THEIR FIGHT. BUT THE EXPECTATION OF COMMUNIST PRE-DOMINANCE IS VERY WIDE SPREAD.

2. DC IS EVERYWHERE IN PROFOUND TURMOIL WITH GRASS ROOTS IN REVOLT AT ESTABLISHED LEADERSHIP. IN VENICE AND BOLZANO PROVINCIAL SECRETARYS HAVE BEEN CHANGED AND IN MILAN BOTH THE CITY SECRETARY AND PARTY LEADER IN THE CITY COUNCIL HAVE BEEN CHANGED. OLD PARTY MACHINES LONG MANIPULATED FROM ROME ARE COMING APART. MOST IMPORTANT CASE IN IN VENETO REGION, DC BULWORK AND MOST CATHOLIC AREA OF ITALY, WHERE STRUGGLE TO CONTROL DC ORGANIZATION IN PROGRESS BETWEEN WELL OILED PATRONAGE MACHINE OF BISAGLIA AND STRANGE ALLIANCE OF ALL OTHERS WANTING BREAK HIS POWER. LOCAL DC POLITICIANS ARE DETERMINED TO FIGHT TO REFORM PARTY TO MAKE IT MORE RESPONSIVE TO VOTER WISHES AND LESS MECHANISM TO  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MILAN 01730 01 OF 02 231442Z

MANIPULATE FROM ROME. SELF CRITICISM WIDE SPREAD AMONG DC LEADERS

ACKNOWLEDGING ARROGANCE TOWARD ALLIED PARTIES AND FAILURE TO KEEP IN TOUCH WITH VOTERS. THESE LOCAL LEVEL POLITICIANS TOTALLY DISTRUST PCI BUT TEND TO SEE SOCIALISTS AS UNAVOIDABLE ALLY. MOREOVER, THEY ARE EXPLICIT AND VOCAL IN INSISTENCE THAT TO SURVIVE DC MUST BE LAY PARTY AND NOT TIED TO CHURCH. NO ONE EXPECTS DC REGAIN PREVIOUS PRE-DOMINANCE BUT MOST BELIEVE IT POSSIBLE MAINTAIN EQUALITY WITH COMMUNISTS - WHICH MEANS SOCIALISTS ARE KEY TO BALANCE SINCE MINOR CENTER PARTIES GENERALLY CONSIDERED MORIBUND.

3. MAJOR DC WEAKNESS IS CAPILLARY ORGANIZATION AND LACK OF YOUNG ACTIVISTS. HERE EMERGENCE OF COMMUNIONE AND LIBERAZIONE MOVEMENT IS NEW ISSUE. (SEE MILANS A-46) WHILE PATRIARCH OF VENICE AND BISHOP OF BOLZANO NOW SEE IT AS VALUABLE AND HOPEFUL SUCCESSOR TO AZIONE CATTOLICA, ACLI AND CATHOLIC YOUTH ORGANIZATION, CARDINAL OF MILAN LESS WELL DISPOSED. SO FAR C&L NOT REPRESENTED IN VENICE BUT PRESENT IN PADUA AND VERONA AS WELL AS IN BOLZANO ON SMALL SCALE. PARTY LEADERS ARE WARY EVERYWHERE, SEE MOVEMENT AS POSSIBLE SOURCE OF VOTES BUT DON'T LIKE ITS ASPIRATION TO COORDINATE CATHOLIC MOVEMENT NOR ITS RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM. THAT RUNS SQUARELY INTO LAY PARTY CONCEPT OF MOST DC LEADERS WE SEE AS WELL AS OF BOTH CARDINALS VENICE AND MILAN.

4. LOCAL LEVEL DC LEADERS HAVE LONG SEEMED TO US FRUSTRATED WITH LACK OF INFLUENCE UPON NATIONAL LEADERSHIP. THIS LONG STANDING CONFLICT REFLECTED IN BREAK UP WE SEE WHICH INCLUDES READINESS OF SOME TO TALK OF FORMING NEW CENTER LAY PARTY TO RALLY LIBERAL CATHOLICS, SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, REPUBLICANS, LIBERALS AND SOCIALISTS IF NATIONAL LEADERSHIP FAILS GENUINELY RECAST PARTY.

5. SOCIALISTS CONSIDER SELVES MAJOR LOSERS IN ELECTIONS DESPITE GREAT INCREASE IN OFFICE HOLDING IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND RISE IN VOTES. THEY FEEL TRAPPED IN DESPERATE DILEMMA. CONVINCED THAT COMMUNISTS WON VOTES DIRECTLY FROM DC BECAUSE SOCIALISTS WERE ALLIED WITH CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS BEFORE ELECTIONS AND SO SHARED BLAME FOR MAL GOVERNO, SOCIALISTS NOW DETERMINED NOT LET COMMUNISTS REMAIN OPPOSITION PARTY. ALLYING WITH THEM LOCALLY LARGELY TACTIC TO FORCE COMMUNISTS SHARE RESPONSIBILITY FOR GOVERNMENT. HOWEVER, SOCIALISTS NOW FACED WITH TACTICAL PROBLEM OF HOW TO DIFFERENTIATE SELVES FROM COMMUNISTS SO AS GAIN VOTES FROM THEM. IN MILAN AND VENICE, SOCIALIST MAYORS OUT NUMBERED BY COMMUNIST CITY COUNCILMEN AND SUR-

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MILAN 01730 01 OF 02 231442Z

ROUNDED BY MORE CAPABLE TOUGHER COMMUNISTS IN EXECUTIVE. THIS PARTICULARLY APPARENT IN VENICE WHERE MAYOR RIGO LOOKS INCREASINGLY HARRIED AND ADMITS THAT TRYING KEEP AHEAD OF COMMUNISTS COUNCILMEN DESPERATELY DIFFICULT. IN BOTH MILAN AND VENICE SIGNS OF TENSION APPARENT. RESULT IS INCREASING TALK AMONG SOCIALISTS OF ALTERNATIVES AND MORE KIND WORDS FOR CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS. BUT SOCIALIST LEADERS THIS AREA STILL CONVINCED THAT WHILE ALLIANCE WITH COMMUNISTS POSES HIGH RISK, ALLIANCE WITH OLD CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY GUARANTEES

THEIR DESTRUCTION. NO WONDER SOCIALISTS ARE PERSPIRING.

6. COMMUNISTS IN HAPPIER FRAME OF MIND AS FAR AS LARGELY SECOND HAND OBSERVATION CAN TELL. THEY AND EVERYONE ELSE THINK THEY WON. RANK AND FILE THEREFORE EXPECTS FRUITS OF VICTORY. LEADERSHIP, HOWEVER, MUCH WARIER. IT RECOGNIZES MAJOR DANGER IS THAT COMMUNIST SUCCESS WILL SO FRIGHTEN PROTEST VOTERS THAT THEY WILL STAMPEDE BACK TO DC OR RIGHT IN NEXT MORE IMPORTANT NATIONAL ELECTIONS. THIS ACCOUNTS FOR ENORMOUS RESTRAINT BY LOCAL PCI LEADERSHIP. CROWING IS NOT LENINIST. PUBLICATION OF FULL PAGE PHOTO IN L'UNITA OF SEA OF COMMUNISTS IN FLORENCE LAST WEEK TO HEAR BERLINGUER WAS EXCEPTION AND TAKEN LOCALLY AS MAJOR GAFF RECALLING DUCE IN PIAZZA VENZIA AND HITLER AT NUREMBERG. COMMUNISTS ALSO AWARE THAT PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT COULD HURT THEM, AS SOCIALISTS AND DC HOPE. THEREFORE TORN BETWEEN LYING LOW TO LET SOCIALISTS OCCUPY EXPOSED POSITIONS AND WORKING TO MAKE LOCAL GOVERNMENT WORK BETTER. COMMUNIST HUMOR NOT IMPROVED BY KNOWLEDGE THAT SOCIALIST ALLIES ARE WEAK SISTERS FOR WHOSE POOR PERFORMANCE COMMUNISTS WILL SHARE BLAME. THIS GENERATING TENSIONS WHICH NO ONE CAN FAIL TO SEE.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MILAN 01730 02 OF 02 231452Z

45

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-10 OMB-01 EB-07 SAJ-01 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-05 /083 W

----- 081099

R 221000Z SEP 75

FM AMCONSUL MILAN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4249

AMEMBASSY ROME

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MILAN 1730

7. SOCIAL DEMOCRATS APPEAR TO BE DISSOLVING. DEFECTION OF LEFT WING IN MILAN TO FORM MIUS FOLLOWED BY SIMILAR SPLIT IN OTHER AREAS OF DISTRICT. ACCORDING TO MIUS LEADER PILLITTERI, THIS IS SIMPLY TRANSITIONAL STAGE TO BE FOLLOWED BY JOINING PSI SOMETIME AFTER ITS NATIONAL CONGRESS. PILLITTERI CLAIMS REMAINDER OF PSDI MAY FOLLOW WITH HOPE THAT PSI CAN BE STRENGTHENED VIS A VIS COMMUNISTS.

8. REPUBLICANS HELD TOGETHER BY ELITE COMMITMENT TO LAY DEMOCRACY AND STRENGTH OF LA MALFA LEADERSHIP. LOCAL LEADERS OPPOSE MERGER WITH OTHER LAY GROUPS BUT ADMIT PARTY HAS NO PROSPECT TO GROW LARGE ENOUGH TO BE SIGNICANT FACTOR.

9. LIBERALS ALL BUT VANISHED. CONSERVATIVE WING GRAVITATING TO DC. YOUNGER MEMBERS JOINING PSI OR HOPING FOR LAY COALITION BUT LEANING TO SOCIALISTS.

10. NEO-FASCISTS OVERSHADOWED BY PRESENT TURMOIL.

1. REACTION OF SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS SHOWS OPPOSITION TO COMMUNISTS BY NO MEANS ABANDONED. CHURCH LEADERS SHOCKED BY JUNE 15 AND CONVINCED CHURCH INTERESTS ENDANGERED BY WITHDRAWAL FROM POLITICS BEGUN BY POPE JOHN. CARDINALS NOT ONLY SAY, BUT OTHERS CONFIRM, THAT HIERARCHY IS MOVING TO FIGHT COMMUNISTS. PARTY LEADERS REPORT CHURCH STIRRING AND EXPECTED HAVE GREATER ROLE IN MILAN NOVEMBER WARD COUNCIL

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MILAN 01730 02 OF 02 231452Z

ELECTIONS. SIGNIFICANT, HOWEVER, THAT BOTH PATRIARCH IN VENICE AND CARDINAL IN MILAN HAVE STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF LAY PARTIES, INCLUDING SOCIALIST.

12. BIG BUSINESS ALSO MOVING. MOST APPARENT IN BOLZANO WHERE GERMAN FACTION HAS OUSTED FLACCID ITALIAN LEADERSHIP OF INDUSTRIALISTS ORGANIZATION AND IS METHODICALLY ORGANIZING ENTIRE PROVINCE TO HIT COMMUNISTS. ACTION BY INDUSTRIALISTS IN VENETO AND LOMBARDY LESS APPARENT BUT MEDIUM AND SMALL FIRMS APPARENTLY INSISTING ON MORE ACTIVE POLITICAL ROLE BY CONFIDUSTRIA PRESIDENT AGNELLI. EXTENT TO WHICH PLANNED NEW LEFT CENTER DAILY REPUBBLICA IS PRODUCT OF BIG BUSINESS EFFORT ROLL BACK COMMUNISTS, HARD TO GUESS, BUT PROBABLY NOT UNRELATED. SOME SIGNS TOO THAT LEFT ORIENTED CORRIERE DELLA SERA MAY ALSO BE TRYING CORRECT ITS FIRE TO HURT COMMUNISTS. PIRELLI HAS SAID THAT HE AND AGNELLI READY HELP SOCIALISTS IF THEY OFFER HOPE OF STANDING UP TO COMMUNISTS.

13. WHILE WE SHALL REPORT SEPARATELY ON ECONOMIC SITUATION, WORTH NOTING HERE THAT FEAR OF COMMUNISTS HAS CONTRIBUTED TO NEAR STAGNATION OF NEW INVESTMENT THROUGHOUT CONSULAR DISTRICT BY BOTH FOREIGN AND ITALIAN INVESTORS WHILE CAPITAL FLIGHT GREATLY STIMULATED ALTHOUGH GENERAL ECONOMIC STATUS MAY BE MAJOR CAUSE. MOREOVER, REMARKABLE NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS OF OUR PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE MAKING ARRANGETS FOR EARLY OR EVENTUAL EMIGRATION AND THIS ENTIRELY POST-ELECTION DEVELOPMENT.

14. PERHAPS MOST SPECTACULAR, THOUGH LITTLE REPORTED EVENT, IS BEHIND SCENES REVIVAL OF SEPARATEST MOVEMENT IN ALTO ADIGE. UNTIL

JUNE 15, LATENT TIROLESE LONGING TO JOIN AUSTRIA LARGELY IN REMISSION

BUT SUD VOLKSHPARTEI SENATOR BRUGGER IN AUGUST PUBLICALLY CALLED FOR REFERENDUM ON ANNEXATION TO AUSTRIA IF COMMUNISTS COME TO POWER IN ITALY. REACTION IN ALTO ADIGE ONE OF ANGER AND BRUGGER HAS FINALLY BEEN DISAVOWED. NOT FOR HIS VIEWS, BUT FOR BEING SO GAUCHE AS TO BLURT

THEM OUT PUBLICALLY. STANDARD PHRASE IS THAT 90 PERCENT OF GERMAN SPEAKING RESIDENTS AGREED AS DO HALF OF ITALIANS. NOTHING IS CHANGING THAT ONE CAN YET SEE. BUT AN OLD PASSION HAS BEEN GIVEN A NEW RAISON D'ETRE AMONG VERY TOUGH MINDED AND WELL-LED GERMAN MAJORITY.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MILAN 01730 02 OF 02 231452Z

15. CONCLUSION. DESPITE EXTERNAL CALM AND APPEARANCE OF

HIGHLY DEVELOPED, RICH MODERN ECONOMY THROUGHOUT AREA, POLITICAL STRUCTURE IN PROFOUND CRISIS. NOT ONLY ARE NON-COMMUNIST PARTIES UNDERGOING UNPREDICTABLE METAMORPHOSIS BUT FEELING IS PREVALENT THAT CENTRAL GOVERNMENT IS EMPTY SHELL THAT COMMUNISTS COULD OCCUPY ALMOST AT WILL.

16. THIS PRECEPTION MAY BE EXAGGERATED BY TRADITIONAL NORTHERN ITALIAN DISDAIN FOR ROME AND DEEPLY INGRAINED ITALIAN HOSTILITY TO ANY GOVERNMENT, BUT OBJECTIVE OBSERVER ONE HUNDRED DAYS AFTER LOCAL ELECTIONS CANNOT FAIL TO RECORD STRENGTH OF COMMUNISTS, CONTINUED CONFUSION OF NON-COMMUNISTS AND LOCAL IMPRESSION OF VACUUM IN CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.FINA

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** ELECTIONS, COMMUNISTS, POLITICAL PARTIES, POLITICAL SITUATION, INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS, NATIONAL ELECTIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 23 SEP 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975MILAN01730  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D750329-0659  
**From:** MILAN  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19750923/aaaaatvz.tel  
**Line Count:** 255  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 06 JUN 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <06 JUN 2003 by ifshinsr>; APPROVED <09 JUN 2003 by GolinoFR>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
06 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** JUNE 15 ELECTION DAY PLUS 100  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PINT, PINR, IT  
**To:** STATE ROME  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006